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## EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

## Routing Slip

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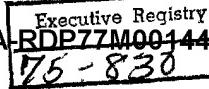
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1	DCI		✓		
2	DDCI				
3	S/MC				
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5	DDI				
6	DDA				
7	DDO		✓		
8	D/DCI/IC				
9	D/DCI/NIO				
10	GC				
11	LC	✓			
12	IG				
13	Compt				
14	D/Pers				
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16	DTR				
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Remarks:

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CRC, 10/22/2003

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

21 Feb. 1975

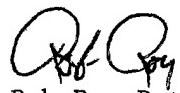
Mr. Colby,

I've talked to [redacted] about this.  
Les Janka the new legislative man on the  
NSC (formerly the press representative for  
five years) is working on it and I  
arranged for [redacted] to get in touch  
with him as soon as he got copies of the  
Harrington resolutions.

STATINTL

STATINTL

Larry Eagleburger at State has Dr.  
Kissinger's copy.

  
Rob Roy Ratliff

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 21, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT  
FROM: PHIL AREEDA P.A.

Let's discuss how we should respond. We should probably meet with Marsh and Friedersdorf on it Saturday morning.

THOMAS E. MORGAN, PA., CHAIRMAN

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WAYNE L. HAYS, OHIO  
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MICHAEL HARRINGTON, MASS.  
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TENNYSON GUYER, OHIO  
ROBERT J. LAGOMARSINO, CALIF.

MARIAN A. CZARNECKI  
CHIEF OF STAFF

Congress of the United States  
Committee on Foreign Affairs  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

February 20, 1975

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to request your comments on a Resolution of Inquiry which was introduced in the House on February 19, 1975, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Enclosed are two copies of the resolution, H. Res. 207, directing the President of the United States to provide information, and to answer certain questions, relating to American policy toward Chile between 1964 and 1973. Also enclosed are two copies of H. Res. 206, directing the Secretary of State to provide similar information.

As you know, the Committee must act on this resolution within seven (7) legislative days beginning today. We will appreciate receiving your comments as soon as possible, but no later than Tuesday, February 25, 1975.

I am attaching for your information a copy of my request for comments on H. Res. 206, which I am sending to the Secretary of State.

Sincerely,

*Thomas E. Morgan*

Chairman

TEM:rbnd  
Enclosures

94TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. RES. 206

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 19, 1975

Mr. HARRINGTON submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

## RESOLUTION

1       *Resolved*, That the Secretary of State is hereby directed  
2       to furnish to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the  
3       House of Representatives, within ten days, the following  
4       information:

### 5                   1964 ELECTIONS

6       1. Did the Forty Committee authorize funds for pay-  
7       ment to opponents of Salvador Allende, prior to the Chilean  
8       national elections of 1964? If so, what were the specific  
9       dates of the authorization(s), to what individuals or organi-  
10      zations were payments made, and what was the amount of  
11      each of these payments? In what currency or currencies

1      were the payments made? Describe the method through  
2      which each such payment was made.

3                    1970 ELECTIONS

4      2. Did the Forty Committee authorize the expenditure  
5      of approximately \$1,000,000 in 1969 and 1970 to attempt  
6      to prevent the election of Salvador Allende as President of  
7      Chile? If so, what were the specific dates of the authoriza-  
8      tion(s)? What was the exact amount of the funds distrib-  
9      uted? To what individuals and organizations were payments  
10     made, and in what amounts? In what currency or currencies  
11     were payments made? Describe the method through which  
12     each such payment was made.

13                  SCHEME TO BRIBE CHILEAN CONGRESS

14     3. Did the Forty Committee, on September 18, 1970,  
15     authorize a plan to spend \$350,000 for the purpose of bribing  
16     members of the Chilean Congress so as to prevent the ratifi-  
17     cation of the election of Salvador Allende as President of  
18     Chile? If so, were the funds expended? What was the dis-  
19     position of this plan?

20                  1970: ANTI-ALLENDE MEDIA CAMPAIGN

21     4. Did the Forty Committee authorize the expenditure  
22     of approximately \$500,000 in the summer of 1970 to finance  
23     anti-Allende media? If so, what were the specific dates of  
24     the authorization(s)? What was the exact amount of the  
25     funds distributed? To what individuals or organizations were

1 payments made, and in what amounts? In what currency or  
2 currencies were the payments made? Describe the method  
3 through which each such payment was made.

4 ~~1970: \$5,000,000~~ Post-1970: \$5,000,000

5 5. Did the Forty Committee, subsequent to the Chilean  
6 national elections in September 1970, authorize the expend-  
7 iture of approximately \$5,000,000 for the purpose of assist-  
8 ing groups and individuals, including political parties, orga-  
9 nizations, and news media, opposed to the government of  
10 President Allende? If so, what was the exact amount of  
11 funds expended? To what individuals or organizations were  
12 payments made, and in what amounts? In what currency or  
13 currencies were the payments made? Describe the method  
14 through which these payments were made.

15 1973: MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

16 6. Did the Forty Committee authorize the expenditure  
17 of approximately \$1,500,000 for payments to and support  
18 of candidates in the 1973 municipal elections who were op-  
19 posed to the government of President Allende? If so, what  
20 was the exact amount of the payments made? To whom were  
21 payments made, and in what amounts? In what currencies  
22 were the payments made? Describe the method through  
23 which each payment was made.

24 1973: \$1,000,000

1 authorize the expenditure of \$1,000,000 for the purpose of  
2 assisting groups, individuals, political parties, organizations,  
3 and news media opposed to the government of President Al-  
4 lende? If so, what was the exact amount of funds expended?  
5 To what individuals or organizations were payments made,  
6 and in what amounts? In what currency or currencies  
7 were the payments made? Describe the method through  
8 which each payment was made.

9                   **NOTICE TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS**

10         8. What Members of the United States Congress, if  
11 any, were informed of each operation authorized by the  
12 Forty Committee to provide funds or assistance to opponents  
13 of Salvador Allende, before such operations were carried out?  
14 On what dates were Members of Congress so informed?  
15 How were Members of Congress so informed?

16                   **STATE DEPARTMENT PARTICIPATION**

17         9. What were the names and positions of members of the  
18 Department of State who were informed before Septem-  
19 ber 11, 1973, of covert operations of American agencies,  
20 as authorized by the Forty Committee, to provide funds or  
21 other assistance to opponents of the government of President  
22 Allende, from 1963 to September 11, 1973?

23                 (a) Which members of the staff of the American  
24 Embassy in Chile were informed of these operations

1       bers informed of the operations before or after they were  
2       carried out?

(b) Was Assistant Secretary of State Charles Meyers informed of any such operations, prior to March 27, 1973?

6 (e) Was former Ambassador to Chile Edward  
7 Korry informed of any such operations, prior to  
8 March 27, 1973?

9 (d) Was Deputy Chief of Mission Harry Shlauder-  
10 man informed of any such operations, prior to June 12,  
11 1974?

12 (e) Was Nathaniel Davis, Ambassador to Chile  
13 from 1971 to 1973, informed of any such operations,  
14 prior to November 9, 1973?

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

16        10. Did the Government of the United States adopt a  
17        policy of economic sanctions against the Government of  
18        Chile after the election of Salvador Allende as President of  
19        Chile in 1970? Did the United States Government seek to  
20        deny loans and other forms of economic assistance to Chile  
21        from the Export-Import Bank, the Inter-American Develop-  
22        ment Bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and  
23        Development, or the International Monetary Fund? If so,  
24        when was such a policy of economic sanctions implemented?

1 how much such sanctions would cost the Government and  
2 economy of Chile, please supply these estimates. Did any  
3 United States representative to the aforementioned financial  
4 institutions receive any instructions, memorandums, or other  
5 documents or communications concerning economic assist-  
6 ance to Chile, and if so, list and provide copies of such docu-  
7 ments or communications.

8                   INTERAGENCY ECONOMIC POLICY GROUP

9                   11. Was there an interagency group, in which a repre-  
10 sentative of the Department of State participated, established  
11 in or after November 1970, to consider, evaluate, and for-  
12 mulate American economic policy toward Chile? If so, what  
13 was the membership of this group? List and provide copies of  
14 any documents or memorandums prepared or issued by this  
15 group in which economic policy toward Chile is discussed.

16                   CHILE'S CREDIT

17                   12. Did the Government of the United States seek and  
18 receive the cooperation of American banks and other finan-  
19 cial institutions in reducing the line of credit available to Chile  
20 from American banks and other financial institutions, and in  
21 preventing the renegotiation of the Chilean foreign debt? If  
22 so, with which banks or financial institutions did representa-  
23 tives of the Government of the United States discuss private

24 as well as public economic policy toward Chile? Which banks

1 in the policy? What officials in the executive branch partici-  
2 pated in such discussions? When were such actions authorized,  
3 and by what agency?

4 STATE DEPARTMENT OBJECTIONS

5 13. Did officials of the Department of State, between  
6 1963 and September 11, 1973, object in writing to plans of  
7 the Forty Committee and/or the Central Intelligence  
8 Agency to provide funds or other assistance to anti-Allende  
9 organizations or individuals? Provide copies of all such ob-  
10 jections, including those memorandums or documents dated  
11 August 30, 1970, September 4, 1970, and July 25, 1973.  
12 To which specific plans did the State Department object,  
13 and what were the reasons cited in the objections?

14 STATEMENT OF HENRY KISSINGER

15 14. On what facts did you base your statement of  
16 September 17, 1973:

17 "The Central Intelligence Agency had nothing to do  
18 with the coup, to the best of my knowledge and belief, and  
19 I only put in that qualification in case a madman appears  
20 down there who, without instructions, talked to somebody.  
21 I have absolutely no reason to suppose it."

94TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION      **H. RES. 206**

**RESOLUTION**

Directing the Secretary of State to provide information, and answer certain questions, relating to American policy toward Chile between 1964 and 1973.

By Mr. HARRINGTON

FEBRUARY 19, 1975  
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

94<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 207

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 19, 1975

Mr. HARRINGTON submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

# **RESOLUTION**

1        *Resolved*, That the President of the United States is  
2 hereby directed to furnish to the Committee on Foreign  
3 Affairs of the House of Representatives, within ten days,  
4 the following information:

#### **TOTAL AID TO ALLENDE OPPONENTS**

- 8        1. What was the total value, in then-year dollars, of  
9 assistance authorized by the Forty Committee, and expended,  
10 for purposes of assisting individuals, groups, or organizations  
11 opposed to the candidacy, or subsequent government, of  
12 Salvador Allende, during the period beginning in 1962 and

1 ending with the overthrow of the Allende government on  
2 September 11, 1973? Provide an itemized accounting for  
3 these expenditures on an annual basis. In addition, provide  
4 an itemized annual accounting of the "value" of such assist-  
5 ance, such value to be computed by comparing the annual  
6 expenditures, in United States dollars, with the official as  
7 well as prevailing unofficial (black market) rates of ex-  
8 change for United States currency and Chilean currency.

## INTERAGENCY POLICY GROUP

10        2. Was there an interagency group, chaired by Doctor  
11      Henry Kissinger, then the National Security Advisor to the  
12      President, established in or shortly after November 1970,  
13      to consider, evaluate, and formulate American economic  
14      policy toward Chile? If so, what was the membership of  
15      this group? List and provide copies of any documents or  
16      memorandums prepared or issued by this group, in which  
17      economic policy toward Chile is examined, reviewed, ana-  
18      lyzed, or discussed.

## 19 ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

20        3. Did the executive branch of the Government of the  
21 United States adopt a policy of economic sanctions against  
22 the Government of Chile after the election of Salvador  
23 Allende as President of Chile in 1970? Was the goal of that  
24 policy to destabilize the Chilean economy and the govern-  
25 ...

1      United States Government, in pursuance of that policy, seek

2      to—

3                (a) deny loans or delay the consideration of loans to

4                Chile;

5                (b) limit or deny credit to Chile;

6                (c) prevent or hinder the renegotiation of the

7                Chilean national debt;

8                (d) restrict the availability of export or credit insur-  
9                ance so as to restrict foreign and United States invest-  
10              ment in Chile;

11              (e) cause a worsening of Chile's foreign exchange  
12              position;

13              (f) limit trading with Chile by American or Amer-  
14              ica-based corporations;

15              (g) limit the availability of credit to Chile, for the  
16              purchase of agricultural commodities?

17      When was such a policy implemented? How were these poli-  
18      cies implemented? How were the specific objectives  
19      achieved? If estimates were made as to how much such sanc-  
20      tions would cost the Government and economy of Chile, supply  
21      copies of these estimates. Who participated in the develop-  
22      ment of this policy? Who participated in attempts to accom-  
23      plish the specific objectives? Under what authority of law  
24      were these activities carried out?

1                   UNITED STATES BANKS

2         4. Did representatives of the executive branch of the  
3         United States Government, including but not limited to Fed-  
4         eral bank examiners, discuss private as well as public Ameri-  
5         can policies toward Chile, pursuant to the plan to impose  
6         economic sanctions on Chile, and seek the cooperation of  
7         these banks in the plan, with any or all of the following  
8         banks: Chase Manhattan, Manufacturers Hanover Trust,  
9         Bank of America, First National Bank of (New York), or  
10       Morgan Guaranty Trust? If so, which banks were contacted?  
11       When were the contacts initiated, and how often were such  
12       contacts made? Who ordered the contacts, and under what  
13       authority of law? Who actually made the contacts?

14                  MULTILATERAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

15        5. Did representatives of the executive branch of the  
16        United States Government, pursuant to the plan to impose  
17        economic sanctions on Chile, seek the cooperation of Ameri-  
18        can officials or delegates to the following multilateral finan-  
19        cial institutions, in carrying out the plan: the Export-Import  
20        Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Interna-  
21        tional Bank for Reconstruction and Development, or the In-  
22        ternational Monetary Fund? If so, which institutions were  
23        contacted? When were the contacts initiated and how often  
24        were such contacts made? Who ordered the contacts, and

1 under what authority of law? Who actually made the con-  
2 tacts? What were the results of the contacts?

3                   ECONOMIC POLICY DOCUMENTS

4         6. Provide copies of all memorandums, studies, instruc-  
5 tions, cables, or other documents which pertain to the policy  
6 of economic sanctions referred to in questions 3, 4, and 5 of  
7 this title.

8                   ASSISTANCE OF UNITED STATES CORPORATIONS

9         7. Did the United States Government seek or receive  
10 the cooperation of any domestic corporations, or foreign sub-  
11 sidiaries of domestic corporations, to act as conduits for pro-  
12 viding financial assistance to anti-Allende groups, organiza-  
13 tions, or individuals? If so, provide a list of the names of such  
14 corporations and their place of incorporation or, in the case  
15 of foreign subsidiaries, the name of the subsidiary as well as  
16 that of the domestic parent corporation. Describe the type  
17 and method of assistance provided by such corporations or  
18 subsidiaries.

19                 (a) Did such corporations or subsidiaries assist in  
20 converting United States currency into foreign curren-  
21 cies? If so, list those corporations providing such assist-  
22 ance together with the amount of United States currency  
23 supplied.

24                 (b) Were such corporations or subsidiaries solicited

1 by officials or agents of the executive branch of the  
2 United States Government? If so, list those corporations  
3 or subsidiaries solicited, as well as the name and position  
4 of those officials or agents of the United States Govern-  
5 ment who solicited such assistance.

6 (c) List any corporation or subsidiaries which, with-  
7 out prior solicitation by an official or agent of the Gov-  
8 ernment of the United States, volunteered to assist ef-  
9 forts opposing the Allende government in Chile.

10 ASSISTANCE OF FOREIGN CORPORATIONS

11 8. Did the United States Government use any foreign  
12 corporations as conduits for providing financial assistance or  
13 other aid to anti-Allende groups, individuals, or organiza-  
14 tions in Chile? If so, what are the names and places of incor-  
15 poration of these foreign corporations, and what type of  
16 assistance did these corporations provide? Did such corpora-  
17 tions assist in the conversion of United States currency into  
18 Chilean or other foreign currency? If so, what was the total  
19 amount of funds converted? On what dates were payments of  
20 United States currency made to such corporations, and in  
21 what amounts? Describe the method through which these  
22 transactions were made. Was the assistance of such corpora-  
23 tions solicited by officials or agents of the executive branch  
24 of the Government of the United States? If so, list the names  
25 and positions of those officials or agents.

1                   NSC-FORTY COMMITTEE DECISIONS

2                 9. Did the Forty Committee after January 1, 1969,  
3                 authorize expenditures to assist opponents of Salvador  
4                 Allende, candidate for and later President of Chile? Who  
5                 participated in these decisions? List and provide copies of  
6                 any and all National Security Study Memorandum (NSSM),  
7                 National Security Decision Memorandum (NSDM); Na-  
8                 tional Security Council Intelligence Decision (NSCID)  
9                 memorandum, and Director Central Intelligence Decision  
10                 (DCID) memorandum, in which American policy toward  
11                 the candidacy and subsequent government of Salvador Al-  
12                 lende are examined, including:

13                 (a) NSSM-97, prepared in July 1970, studying  
14                 United States policy options in the event Salvador  
15                 Allende was elected President of Chile;

16                 (b) NSSM-131, prepared in or about February  
17                 1971, examining, among other issues, termination of  
18                 economic assistance to the Government of Chile;

19                 (c) NSDM-136, issued in October 1971, relating  
20                 to termination of economic assistance to Chile, among  
21                 other issues.

Document released under the Freedom of Information Act

4        10. Did the Forty Committee authorize payments of  
5 funds intending that the recipients, through direct or indirect  
6 means, be members of the National Party of Chile? If so,  
7 what was the total amount of such payments? On what dates  
8 were such payments made, and what was the amount of each  
9 such payment? To whom were payments made, and in what  
10 currencies? Describe the method through which each pay-  
11 ment was made.

## 12 AID TO PATRIA Y. LIBERTAD

13        11. Did the Forty Committee authorize payments of  
14 funds intending that the recipients, through direct or indirect  
15 means, be members of the Patria y. Libertad in Chile? If so,  
16 what was the total amount of such payments? On what dates  
17 were such payments made, and what was the amount of each  
18 such payment? To whom were the payments made, and in  
19 what currencies? Describe the method through which each  
20 payment was made.

## 21 AID TO CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

22        12. Did the Forty Committee authorize payments of  
23 funds intending that the recipients, through direct or indirect  
24 means, be members of the Christian Democratic Party in

1 On what dates were such payments made, and what was the  
2 amount of each such payment? To whom were the payments  
3 made, and in what currencies? Describe the method through  
4 which each payment was made.

5 AID TO STRIKING SHOPKEEPERS AND PROFESSIONALS

6 13. Did the Forty Committee authorize payments of  
7 funds intending that the payments, through direct or indirect  
8 means, be used to support truckers, shopkeepers, and profes-  
9 sionals on strike in October 1972, in Chile? If so, what was  
10 the total amount of such payments? On what dates were such  
11 payments made, and what was the amount of each such pay-  
12 ment? To whom were the payments made, and in what cur-  
13 rencies? Describe the method through which each payment  
14 was made.

15 1973 TRUCKERS STRIKE

16 14. Did the Forty Committee authorize payments of  
17 funds intending that the payments, through direct or indirect  
18 means, be used to support the trucker's strike in July, Au-  
19 gust, and September of 1973, in Chile? To what individuals,  
20 groups, or organizations were such payments made? What  
21 was the total amount of such payments? On what dates were  
22 such payments made, and what was the amount of each such  
23 payment? In what currencies were the payments made? De-  
24 scribe the method through which each payment was made.

1 CHILEAN INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION

2       15. Did the Forty Committee authorize the Central In-  
3 telligence Agency, or any of its employees or agents, to  
4 make payments to SOFOFA, an industrial association in  
5 Chile, for the purpose of assisting opposition to the govern-  
6 ment of Salvador Allende? If so, what was the total amount  
7 of such payments? On what dates were such payments made,  
8 and what was the amount of each such payment? In what  
9 currencies were the payments made? Describe the method  
10 through which each payment was made.

11 PAYMENTS TO PROTEXA/GRUPO MENDOZA

12       16. Did the Forty Committee authorize, or did the Cen-  
13 tral Intelligence Agency arrange, for payments to be made  
14 to Protexa, a company based on Monterey, Mexico, for pur-  
15 poses of providing assistance to anti-Allende individuals,  
16 groups, or organizations in Chile? Were payments made to  
17 Grupo Mendoza, a company based in Caracas, Venezuela,  
18 for such purposes? If so, what was the amount of these pay-  
19 ments, and when were the payments made to each company?

20 AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR FREE LABOR DEVELOPMENT

21       17. Did the Central Intelligence Agency, between the  
22 years 1962 and 1973, provide financial or organizational  
23 assistance to trade union groups in Chile opposed to the gov-  
24 ernment of Salvador Allende through the assistance or use of

1 11 (AIFLD)? If so, describe the nature of assistance provided  
2 through the use of AIFLD? Did the Forty Committee au-  
3 thorize the expenditure of funds to be used to provide finan-  
4 cial assistance and otherwise support individuals, groups, or  
5 organizations opposed to the government of Salvador Al-  
6 lende, with the expectation that AIFLD would be used as  
7 a conduit for this assistance and support? If so, what was the  
8 total amount of payments authorized, and what was the  
9 actual amount of payments made to or through the use of  
10 AIFLD? Provide a list of the separate dates and amounts  
11 of payments to or through the use of AIFLD.

12 PAYMENTS TO EL MERCURIO

13 18. Between 1962 and 1973, what was the total amount  
14 of financial assistance provided the Chilean newspaper El  
15 Mercurio by or through the direction of the Central Intelli-  
16 gence Agency? Describe the method through which such  
17 assistance was provided. In what currency was such assist-  
18 ance provided? Was such assistance requested or solicited,  
19 and if so, by whom?

20 CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY PERSONNEL IN COUP

21 19. Were any American civilian personnel, including  
22 personnel attached to or in the employ of the Central Intelli-  
23 gence Agency, serving as advisors to Chilean military units,  
24 or commanders, during the two months prior to, and/or two  
25 months subsequent to, the overthrow of the Chilean Govern-

1 ment of Salvador Allende on September 11, 1973? How  
2 many such personnel were assigned as advisors? Did any  
3 participate in the fighting that followed the coup of Septem-  
4 ber 11, 1973? Were any killed or wounded? If so, how  
5 many? Provide copies of all documents, including NSCID's,  
6 DCID's, or other orders which authorized the American  
7 civilian and/or Central Intelligence Agency personnel to  
8 serve as advisors.

9 **STATEMENT OF PRESIDENT FORD**

10 20. On what facts did you base your statement of Sep-  
11 tember 16, 1974:

12 "In a period of time, three or four years ago, there was  
13 an effort being made by the Allende government to destroy  
14 opposition news media, both the writing press as well as the  
15 electronic press. And to destroy opposition political parties.

16 "And the effort that was made in this case was to help  
17 assist the preservation of opposition newspapers and elec-  
18 tronic media and to preserve opposition political parties."

94TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

**H. RES. 207**

**RESOLUTION**

Directing the President of the United States to provide information, and answer certain questions, relating to American policy toward Chile between 1964 and 1973.

By Mr. HARRINGTON

FEBRUARY 19, 1975

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs